

# CITY PAGES

## *Defund & Dismantle*

*Minneapolis looks toward a police-free future*



# Statement in Support of Police Reform and Chief Arradondo

The death of George Floyd was a chapter in a story that is as old as our nation and is, sadly, still being written in communities across the country. Philando Castile, Breonna Taylor, Rayshard Brooks... These names serve stark notice that policing across the United States needs transformational reform.

The problems with policing are deeply rooted in the structural racism that permeates our society and its institutions. The current rallying cries around “defunding,” “dismantling,” or “abolishing” the police are grounded in a basic truth that sweeping and visionary reforms are needed.

The answer is not to simply defund or dismantle the police. We need to address societal racism and rebuild our infrastructure so that we can reduce our reliance on policing. Minneapolis receives more than 400,000 calls for police services every year. Housing, education, health care, mental health and the environment are key fronts for enhancing safety.

Without a doubt, the Minneapolis Police Department needs transformational reform but we oppose the current proposal to amend the Minneapolis City Charter to remove the police department. This Charter amendment will not advance the transformational reform that is needed. In fact, it is a distraction from the necessary work at hand.

We believe we have a leader in place who can bring about the much needed change in the police department if he has adequate support. Chief Medaria Arradondo is an ethical, professional and compassionate leader. He knows our city and loves its people. He has a reform agenda, but has experienced opposition from the Police Union and has lacked support from the City Council. We call on our citizens to support Chief Arradondo in his effort to transform our police department.

We have an opportunity brought about by tragedy but it is an opportunity we can't waste. Minneapolis can become a model for the nation by rethinking the mission of policing. Only then can Minneapolis fulfill this moment and develop a new, bold model for a safe, inclusive community.

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## Friends of Minneapolis



Artists Anna Barber and Connor Wright, with the help of the community, created the “Say Their Names Cemetery” at 37th and Park to memorialize those killed by police.

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*By Susan Du, Emily Cassel, and Hannah Jones*

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**OFFICE HOURS** Monday-Friday  
8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

ISSN 0744-0456. City Pages is published weekly by Star Tribune Media Company, LLC. City Pages is located at 650 3rd Ave. S., Ste. 1300, Minneapolis, MN 55488. City Pages is available free of charge, limited to one copy per reader. Additional copies of the current issue may be purchased at the City Pages office for \$1, payable in advance. No person may, without prior written permission of City Pages, take more than one copy of each City Pages weekly issue. Subscriptions are available for \$100 per year. Subscription orders must include check or money order payable to City Pages, and should be mailed to City Pages Subscriptions, 650 3rd Ave. S., Ste. 1300, Minneapolis, MN 55488. Periodicals postage paid at Minneapolis, Minnesota. Postmaster: Send address changes to City Pages, 650 3rd Ave. S., Ste. 1300, Minneapolis, MN 55488.

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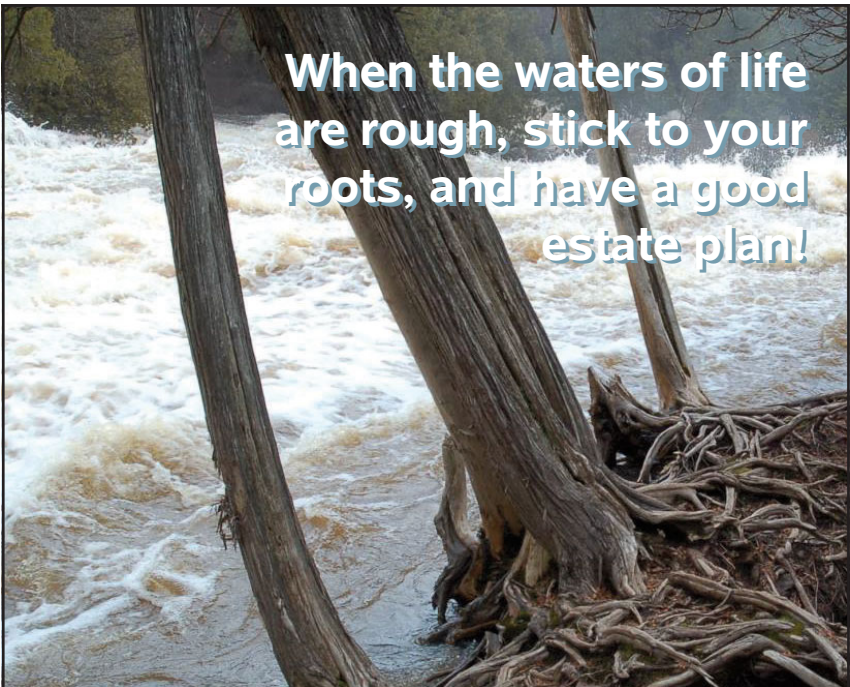
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## THE SHORTLIST

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Ramsey Louder departs  
ONE Fermentary  
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LUCY HAWTHORNE

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Seats, out of 90, that will be available  
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**1,441**

Latest death total for Minnesotans  
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than 126,000 nationally)

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New speed humps installed on roads  
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**“They’re gonna be really upset  
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role in the Civil War.”**

—Reader Shayla Nicole responds to  
“‘Trump Victory Minnesota’ registered  
voters at Confederate flag-flying bar”  
*at citypages.com*

## OPEN AND SHUT

**MINNEAPOLIS BARS** and restaurants  
are back in action after Gov. Tim Walz  
lifted some COVID-19 restrictions, but a  
few have returned a bit too strong. Viral  
photos of packed patios and nightclubs  
(looking at you especially, Kollege Klub)  
have shown unmasked masses gathering  
in close quarters. Walz isn’t happy about  
it, saying Monday that if owners aren’t  
willing to follow his guidelines, he’s more  
than happy to close them back down. The  
governor was criticized by Republicans who  
wanted him to open the state up faster...  
but many of the states that opened more  
quickly than Minnesota are now facing  
big spikes in COVID-19 cases. Go figure!

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# PRIDE & SHAME

LUSH just laid off all its employees via Facebook

**O**n Friday, June 26, LUSH, a fixture in Minneapolis's gay bar and drag scene, posted an announcement on Facebook.

First off, the bar would be closed until further notice, both given "the constraints of the COVID-19 global pandemic," and "recent listening sessions with BIPOC [Black and Indigenous people of color] community leaders."

This came as some surprise. LUSH had seemed on track to reopen after months of forced closure. And Pride weekend was an odd time for the announcement.

But the real bomb dropped later on in the post.

"When LUSH reopens it will be better than ever, with a redesigned concept, a new leadership structure, a reimagined entertainment program, and an enhanced commitment to diversity and equity," it said. "As part of this redesign, all positions across our organization will be re-hired

in a transparent and equitable process."

In the comments, staff members and performers didn't mince words that this was news to them.

"Thank you for the complete disregard of my humanity by [firing] me via fb," one commenter said.

Some LUSH employees are claiming the abrupt "redesign" announcement was inspired by a letter from employees detailing "a list of expectations, changes, and demands," including mandatory diversity and cultural sensitivity training, more diverse staff, directors, and performers (both in terms of race and gender), and a zero tolerance policy on "inappropriate touching," which the letter says several employees and patrons have experienced from "those in positions of power" at the bar. The letter also mentioned repeated instances of racism or cultural appropriation during performances, which has been a topic of public discussion several times in the past.



LUSH

Performer Damien D'Luxe posted the letter on Facebook, saying mere hours after laying eyes on the demands, management cut them all loose via social media.

"Since you like to boast about 'equitable opportunity, pay, and representation,' would you like to address why your employees were fired hours after they presented to you a list of points to make their work environment better?" one commenter asked LUSH.

Two days later, co-owner Ken Darling issued an apology. He said he'd been out of town, and that his partners, James Nelson and Brian Johnston, had a more active role in the bar's management.

That is, they used to. Darling said he'd

since accepted their resignations.

"I know that's not an excuse, and I am truly sorry," he said. "I was led to believe that the staff were on board with the need for a redesign, were fully aware that we would not be reopening anytime soon, knew that not everyone would be called back, and understood that we were going to concentrate on building a more diverse staff."

They weren't. They didn't.

Darling went on to say that he would like to turn over the bar to "a group of leaders who are not cis, white males."

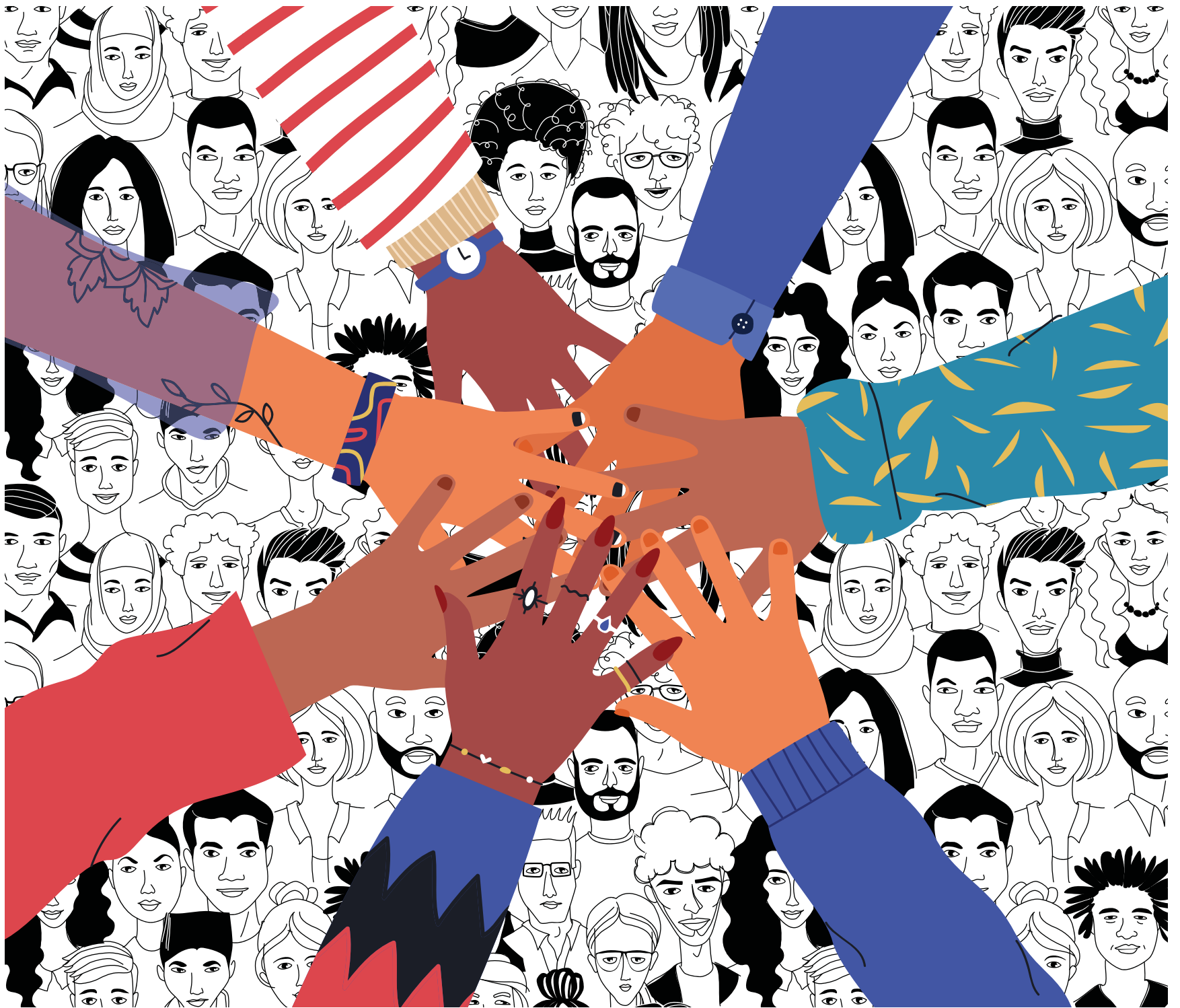
He says that by the time the bar does reopen, he wants it to be well on its way to new ownership. —HANNAH JONES

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## CITYPAGES



# Defund & Dismantle

Minneapolis looks toward a police-free future

BY SUSAN DU, EMILY CASSEL, AND HANNAH JONES

## I. BEYOND REFORM

**T**wo weeks after a Minneapolis police officer crushed George Floyd to death with a knee to the neck, a crowd of hundreds gathered in Powderhorn Park to demand an end to policing.

The park, a rolling green hill on the banks of Powderhorn Lake, is the site of the progressive city's annual May Day celebrations. It was June 7, the birthday of the late, great Prince. Young Black Visions Collective activists ascended a stage furbished with "DEFUND POLICE" spelled out in Hollywood letters, as members of the audience waved cardboard signs screaming

"ABOLISH" in thick black marker. The mood was triumphant.

"We have never looked to the police for our safety," said Kandace Montgomery, speaking for immigrants, Black, queer, trans, indigenous, disabled, and poor people. "We have looked to each other for protection from the police. It shouldn't have taken us so much death to get there. George Floyd should not need to have been murdered for so many people to wake up."

Abolishing the police, previously considered a radical leftist crusade, exploded into the mainstream after Floyd's death. Incendiary protests left neighborhoods in flames while local police lost control of the city for several days. Their absence fueled the organic outgrowth of armed citizen patrols, ad hoc firefighting crews, and block donation drives. Once police

reconvened with reinforcements from the State Patrol and the National Guard, attacks on peaceful, curfew-breaking protesters and arrests of press fed the perception that they'd squandered the last of their legitimacy.

The day before that Powderhorn rally, a march in protest of the Minneapolis police union passed by the northeast Minneapolis home of Mayor Jacob Frey, who quaveringly announced he did not want to abolish the police. A viral video of the incident showed Frey being jettisoned from the march to a chorus of "Shame, shame, shame!"

Activists laughed about that onstage at Powderhorn. At last, those who'd pushed for disbanding the MPD for years in the shadow of obscurity were being recognized around the country.

"If you're here today, you probably already

agree that we need to abolish the police," said Arianna Nason of the activist group MPD150. "Our families, friends, and neighbors are going to have questions. Lots and lots of questions about what a police-free future can look like. What does that mean?"

"We absolutely do not want to just rebrand police, change the color of the uniform and call them something else. Nah, just no," said Nason. "But we can think critically about what unarmed crisis response teams must be, what they might look like."

Help would instead come in the form of neighbors, or government-certified social workers that residents could request by name, activists said. The MPD's \$193 million budget would be rationed into education, food, housing, and healthcare. Violence itself would be redefined as a result of trauma propelled by the presence of cops.

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Symptoms of COVID-19 can include fever, cough, shortness of breath, chills, headache, muscle pain, sore throat, or loss of taste or smell. Other less common symptoms include gastrointestinal symptoms like nausea, vomiting, or diarrhea.

Nine members of the Minneapolis City Council—a veto-proof majority of 12 occupied seats—signed a pledge to dismantle the police department. They were cloudy on details of how that would be done or what could come after. But they did make a daring promise that whatever emerged out of a democratic reconstruction of public safety would be completely transformative.

“Our efforts at incremental reform have failed, period,” said council president Lisa Bender. “Our commitment is to end our city’s toxic relationship with the Minneapolis Police Department, to end policing as we know it.”

“The Mpls Police Department is not reformable. Change is coming,” tweeted council member Alondra Cano.

National newspapers marveled at the stunning ambition of Minneapolis. At least one media outlet mistakenly reported that the department had already been disbanded.

In fact, no one knows yet what will come of the council members’ pledge to “defund,” “dismantle,” and “end the Minneapolis Police Department.” Not even the people on the stage.

## II. FROM RADICAL TO REASONABLE

**In 2015**, Jamar Clark was shot and killed in a struggle with a pair of Minneapolis police officers who said the 24-year-old was going for one of their guns, sparking weeks of protests. Two years later, Justine Damond, 40, was shot and killed without warning after calling 911 to report a suspected sexual assault in the alley behind her house. Both cases made headlines around the world.

These shootings had strikingly different outcomes. The white cops who killed Clark—a Black man—were never charged. The Somali-American officer who shot Damond—a white woman—was convicted of murder and manslaughter, while her family ultimately received \$20 million through a wrongful death lawsuit.

Yet these cases represent just a fraction of Minneapolis’s recent officer-involved killings.

In June 2018, MPD officers chased Thurman Blevins, 31, into an alley and shot him in the back. That November, police shot Travis Jordan after his girlfriend called them because he was threatening to kill himself. In each case, prosecutors determined the officers were authorized to use deadly force; Hennepin County Attorney Mike Freeman called Blevins, who was armed, “an immediate threat.” His dying words were: “Please don’t shoot me! Leave me alone!”

In December of 2019, Chiasher Fong Voe was killed in a barrage of gunfire by officers responding to a domestic violence call at his north Minneapolis home. He was the 14th person to die from an encounter with law enforcement officers in Minnesota last year. The list goes on.

To “celebrate” the Minneapolis Police



SUSAN DU

Department’s 150th anniversary in 2016, MPD150 published *Enough is Enough*, a detailed performance review of the department’s past and present. Their research paints a picture of a department that has become increasingly entrenched and brutal, and that has historically been at war against Minneapolis’s people of color. (An updated version of the report will be released in the coming weeks.)

Many of the MPD’s problems are systemic and well-documented, and have resurfaced since Floyd’s murder. There was the 2007 lawsuit in which Medaria Arradondo—now Minneapolis’s police chief—and four other plaintiffs alleged the department demoted Black male officers and tolerated known racists, including Lt. Bob Kroll, who would be elected to lead the police union eight

cases in which a person was killed. In 2016, their clearance rate for rape cases was just 22 percent, and last year, the department announced they’d found 1,700 “misplaced” rape kits that had gone untested since as early as the 1990s.

Many attempts to reform the department have been stymied by the powerful police union, which council president Lisa Bender called a “a clear barrier to change.”

They’ve openly defied the mayor before. Last year, after Frey banned so-called “warrior-style” training—“fear-based” tactics that focus on confronting physical threats rather than de-escalation—the union started offering free warrior-style training of its own. Kroll has consistently butted heads with Minneapolis elected officials, including Frey, his predecessor Betsy

# “Our efforts at incremental reform have failed, period.”

years later. The New York Times used the department’s own statistics to show Minneapolis police are at least seven times more likely to use force against Black people than white people.

Roughly 92 percent of the force lives in a non-Minneapolis zip code, which activists say makes them less accountable to the community they police. That number makes the city an outlier; in 2010, a FiveThirtyEight investigation of the 75 American cities with the largest police forces found an average of 60 percent don’t live in the city they police.

Activists also argue that the department doesn’t effectively protect the community it serves. Their track record in solving serious crimes is consistently low—last year, Minneapolis police cleared 56 percent of

Hodges, and the current council, whose “ultra-left agenda that the police are the problem” he railed against on Fox News.

The day George Floyd was killed, MPD spokesman John Elder claimed the 46-year-old died of a “medical incident.” His initial press release, which made no mention of any use of force, quickly crumbled under the weight of cell phone video.

All of which led to the protests, the riots, and the burning of a police precinct—an event unprecedented in U.S. history.

## III. UNCHARTED TERRITORY

**In a Zoom call** with reporters the day after declaring policing irreparably broken, council members’ tone took a concilia-

tory turn.

Council member Alondra Cano, the council’s chair of public safety, said she sympathizes with the complex situations police officers respond to while navigating a rigid workplace.

“Imagine the two officers who had just completed their cadet course a week before, and were put in a position where they were saying, ‘Hey you might consider putting Mr. Floyd on his side,’ and were shut down by a veteran of 15 or 20 years on the force,” she said in defense of fired MPD rookies Thomas Lane and J. Alexander Keung. “Those officers also don’t want to be in that broken system.”

Cano said she knows compassionate cops. Her constituents in Little Earth—America’s largest urban housing project for American Indians—consider police officers mentors, feminist leaders, and role models for kids. Many minority cops went into policing strictly because they wanted to wear the badge better than the ones they saw growing up.

“In the process I would like to see us take on, this truth and reconciliation summer, those officers would be a part of that,” she said.

In its first concrete response to the death of George Floyd, the City Council approved a temporary restraining order from the Minnesota Department of Human Rights, banning chokeholds and requiring police to physically intervene when they see another officer using one. The state is probing the MPD for patterns of discrimination.

Backing off bullish statements to end the MPD with or without the mayor’s support, council president Lisa Bender said she hoped the state civil rights investigation would offer the city tools to “reform” policing.

Defunding the MPD would also take time and process, Cano clarified. Mayor Jacob Frey would have to present an amended city budget before the end of July. Only then could they target the MPD for incisive cuts and funnel the savings into policing alternatives.

The city’s Group Violence Intervention initiative, in which community members help gang-affiliated teenagers settle conflict without police intervention, could use more funding to expand, said council member Phillippe Cunningham.

He credited GVI’s implementation in 2017 with a precipitous drop in shootings. Around the same time, domestic assault began to emerge as the number-one reason for 911 calls across the city.

“But yet as the budget came around and we were doing negotiations, I had to fight tooth and nail to be able to get \$50,000 for an evidence-based, intimate partner violence intervention system,” said Cunningham, referring to a new initiative diverting perpetrators of less serious domestic crimes to therapy instead of the criminal justice system. “When we were battling millions

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of dollars not only going into the police budget but also coming out of taxpayer dollars for settlements.”

But what of mass shootings, drive-bys, and hostage standoffs?

None of the council members would offer examples of what could replace armed police in an active shooter situation, saying they expected copious ideas to come from the public.

“I don’t think the challenge is going to be, ‘Who’s going to respond to a fatal shooting?’ I think the challenge is gonna be, ‘We have so many ideas and strategies, how do we prioritize which strategy?’” said Cano.

Council member Andrew Johnson, who signed the pledge to dismantle the MPD but did not join the Zoom call, answered the question more directly.

“No, the City Council did not vote to abolish the police department,” he wrote in a statement to constituents. “No, there have not been any decisions made on budget cuts. No, we cannot have lawlessness or anarchy. And yes, there are still emergency calls which will require armed law enforcement to respond.”

A few days later, MPD Chief Medaria Arradondo announced the city would immediately withdraw from ongoing negotiations with the police union over its contract, which was due to be renewed at the end of 2019. Instead, the chief said he would bring in experts to diagnose parts of the contract that make it virtually impossible to permanently fire a bad cop for misconduct.

In his first extended public address following the City Council’s declaration of dismantling his department, Arradondo apologized to Minneapolis residents for the trauma they endured over the preceding weeks, starting with the slaying of George Floyd.

“I wish that I could carry those burdens on my shoulders alone so you did not have to,” Arradondo said. “Over the past several days I’ve heard from families and individuals who are concerned that if they were in

need of a police response, they would not get one. I’m also here to tell you, we will be here for you.”

As a child growing up in Minneapolis, he didn’t see a lot of cops who looked like him, the city’s first Black police chief said. The ones who did were his heroes. Speaking in reference to his discrimination lawsuit, Arradondo said he “did not abandon this department then, and will not abandon this department now.”

Several more hurdles stand in the way of dismantling the MPD. The city charter mandates a police force of at least 0.0017 employees per resident. Changing it would require a popular referendum this November. Federal labor laws also insist contract negotiations continue.

Some of the first community members to voice opposition to outright police abolition include those who live in and work most deeply in minority communities, including the principals of both North Side high schools and the Urban League Twin Cities.

To begin, the Minneapolis City Council passed a resolution to engage in a year-long process of community engagement and research. Promising to engage with every willing resident while prioritizing the voices of people of color, the council ordered staff to produce regular reports as a new model of public safety takes form.

#### IV. ABOLITION ELSEWHERE

**Nelson Linder**, president of the Austin, Texas NAACP, says the mood in his city matches what he’s seen in Minneapolis, and all over the country, for that matter.

“We’ve had enormous protests here,” he says—diverse and relentless. Some reforms have resulted, quickly followed by distressing relapses. Earlier this month, the City Council banned chokehold maneuvers like the one used to suffocate George Floyd, only to have an Austin police officer filmed kneeling on a protester’s neck a day later.

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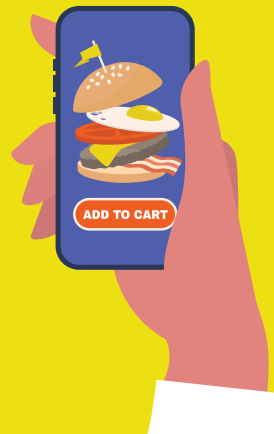
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The city's hungry for permanent change, Linder says.

In June, Austin's City Council voted unanimously to partially defund the city's police department—as have over a dozen other cities across the nation. He believes that was only possible because in 2013, the council went from seven at-large members to having representatives from 10 discrete districts. Ever since, he says, council members have been more accountable to their constituents and less easily swayed by the police union.

Yet council members didn't specify how much money they wanted to cut from the department, or where those resources would be redirected. Already residents suspect walk-backs and compromises. Mayor Steve Adler is hesitant to sign a proposition to reduce the police budget by \$100 million, demanding a detailed budget proposal while maintaining police perform “a really important function in the community.”

“We will neither abolish nor defund the police,” he said in a tweet on June 11. “We will not compromise the safety of our community. Period. But re-imagining policing and investing in people and the community hold the promise of making us even more safe.”

Residents have complained about city leadership sending “mixed signals” online.

When discussions of disbanding the Minneapolis Police Department arose, many national news outlets trotted out Camden, New Jersey as a handy precedent.

In 2013, Camden, a city awash in violent crime and excessive force complaints, fired its existing police force, tore up the old union contracts, and ceded law enforcement to the county. The new Camden County Police Department rehired only half of the old officers after making them fill out 50-page applications and re-evaluating their psychological muster.

The results were remarkable. Homicides declined from 67 in 2012—the last

year of the old police department—to 25 in 2019. Over the same period, excessive force complaints narrowed from 65 to just three. But according to residents, there's more to the story of the Camden police.

The new force is larger, whiter, and less local. Suddenly, law enforcement looked a lot less like the overwhelmingly Black and brown people being policed. Crime did go down, but on average, crime in America has been on the decline since the mid-1990s.

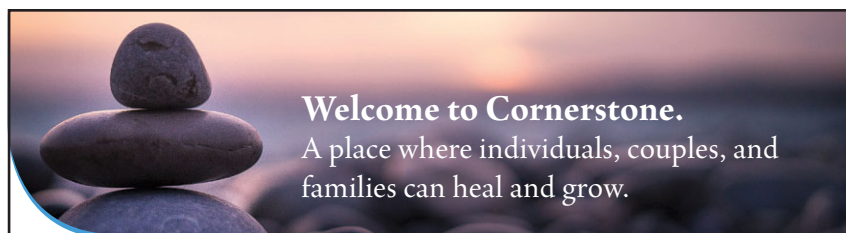
Camden activists kept pushing the department to tamp down use of force. In the new department's first year, excessive force complaints nearly doubled before eventually dropping off. In 2015, a report from the American Civil Liberties Union gave Camden a nod for its efforts at cleaning shop, but noted a “significant increase in low-level arrests and summonses.”

NJ Advance Media, a Pulitzer-winning local news agency, scoured Camden County Police data between 2012 and 2016 and found that Black Camdenites were 447 percent more likely to have force used on them than white residents.

Another example comes from the Eugene-Springfield metro in Oregon, where 911 calls route to police, fire, or a third option—a 24/7 mobile crisis intervention team consisting of a nurse or EMT and a mental health specialist. These teams end up taking some 20 percent of the area's 911 calls, according to an NPR interview. Those numbered 24,000 last year. Only 150 of them needed additional police backup. If you ask Linder, Minneapolis—and Austin—are part of a “historical moment” on the cusp of real, meaningful change.

“You can't predict what happens with George Floyd,” he says. “When people see things like that it's like seeing Emmett Till's body in 1955.”

But if there's anything Minneapolis can learn from other cities' experiments with law enforcement, it's that no change is perfect on the first pass.



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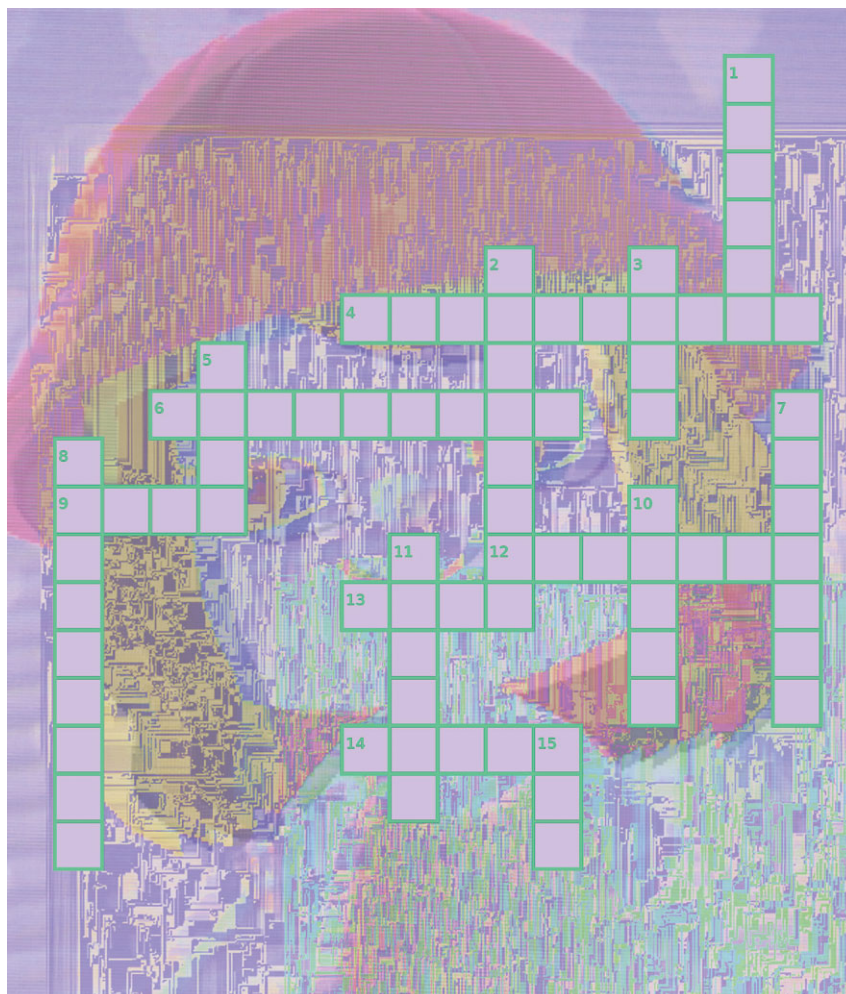
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## CITY PAGES

## V. BABY STEPS

**For now,** Minneapolis is suspended in a moment of uncertainty. Though the Minneapolis police budget has not parted with a single dollar, officers across the city are more reluctant to respond aggressively to 911 calls in a time of intense scrutiny and low approval. Nearly 120 people have been injured by gunfire since George Floyd's death. Homicides are double this time last year.

Floyd's memorial at 38th Street and Chicago Avenue, a verdant and joyful site of communal cookouts for several weeks, began to devolve after dark, according to council member Andrea Jenkins.

"There are reports of gunshots, drug use, illegal alcohol service to minors, and numerous mental health concerns," she wrote to constituents. "In short, the activities are becoming a public health and community safety issue. It will require all of us to come together and restore our neighborhood livability while honoring the memory, history, and the humanity of George Floyd."

Mayor Jacob Frey's impulse was to call in reinforcements from surrounding law enforcement agencies, including the Hennepin County Sheriff's Office, Metro Transit, the FBI, ATF, and Secret Service. In contrast, council member Phillippe Cunningham turned to the city's Group Violence Intervention program to broker meetings between gang members.

"The aim is to reduce peer dynamics in the group that promote violence by creating collective accountability, to foster internal social pressure that deters violence, to establish clear community standards against violence, to offer group members an 'honorable exit' from committing acts of violence, and to provide a supported path for those who want to change," he tweeted.

Cunningham didn't respond to interview requests about how it's going.

One month after George Floyd's death, the Minneapolis City Council took its first step toward dismantling the police department.

Together, they authored a proposed amendment to the city charter that would replace the MPD with a new Department of Community Safety and Violence Prevention that would provide "public safety services prioritizing a holistic, public health-oriented approach," and answer directly to the City Council. A cop may be tapped to lead the new department, which may also include a division of licensed police officers.

The council then voted unanimously to advance a ballot question to voters this November, asking, "Shall the Minneapolis City Charter be amended to provide for the establishment of a new Community Safety & Violence Prevention Department and to remove the Police Department?"

If the amendment is approved by voters, the MPD would cease to be a chartered department on May 1, 2021, allowing for

its eventual disbanding. MPD's replacement may not fully materialize by the November election, but council members believe a democratic reinvention of policing can dovetail with the charter amendment process.

While a timeline for official public engagement is forthcoming, community responses to the council's nascent post-MPD vision varied widely in a preview of what's sure to become a feast of contending opinions. In a joint statement representing the city's business interests, the Downtown Council, Regional Chamber of Commerce, and Building Owners and Managers Association of Greater Minneapolis came out decisively against efforts to dismantle the department.

Corporate leaders want to keep police under the mayor's purview instead of the council's, arguing management by a group of people would muddle accountability. They also urged the city to "support the Chief of Police more visibly than before," and affirm that sworn police must be available 24/7 to address threats to people and commerce.


"Without a clear understanding that policing services will be reinvented but not eliminated in our City, we can anticipate the desirability of Minneapolis as a community to live, visit, invest, and create/maintain jobs within will diminish," the group said.

At the same time, the Twin Cities Coalition 4 Justice 4 Jamar (Clark), which advocates for direct community control of the police, lambasted elected officials for merely renaming the MPD and paying lip service to the public "without doing the hard work of getting rid of violent cops."

"The City Council's proposal does not spell out any new disciplinary measures or oversight of the police, nor does it spell out what community involvement will look like beyond a vague 'consistently engaging the public,'" Justice 4 Jamar said in a statement.

Still, Black Visions Collective's Miski Noor commended council members for passing an amendment that, while imperfect, took Minneapolis "closer than any time in history, and anywhere else in the country, to a safe, thriving city without police."

Black Visions Collective had wanted law enforcement explicitly disqualified from leading the city's new public safety department. Under the council's proposed charter amendment, the director could very well be a cop.

"We know that police will be fighting hard to influence this process, and we need our city leaders to do everything they can to make sure they don't hijack our new safety infrastructure from the beginning," said collective director Kandace Montgomery. "We will fight until we see a new department that fully lives up to our expectations of a new path towards public safety, with a clear break from MPD's ugly history." 

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STAR TRIBUNE

# WHO RUNS COCKTAIL TOWN?

Turmoil at Tattersall as workers seek to unionize

BY SARAH BRUMBLE

In the months since COVID came to town, tensions between Tattersall Distilling Company's owners, Jon Kreidler and Dan Oskey, and staff have reached a boiling point.

On the morning of June 26, a pair of statements released by Kreidler and Oskey pulled back the curtain on a conflict roiling beneath the northeast Minneapolis cocktailer's cool facade. "We were informed that some of the Tattersall front-of-house and bottling staff are seeking to form a union," began the owners' first communication. The use of words like "transparency," "flexibility," and "expression" served as

touchstones throughout their statement, which felt noteworthy... right up until they cudged that movement.

"We don't believe a union is necessary, nor is it in the best interest of our employees or our company," they wrote, before attributing Tattersall's "core values" as being responsible for recent achievements, like the production of All Hands sanitizer throughout the pandemic, the sales of which funded 1,000,000 meals for Minnesota food bank Second Harvest Heartland.

Within an hour of transparently sharing their views with the community, comment-

ing had been disabled on Tattersall's latest Instagram posts, including the aforementioned announcement.

Representatives from the collective of Tattersall workers were quick to respond in kind with their own statement via social media that same morning. Included in it are answers to questions like, "Why are we unionizing?" In fact, the workers are asking for... transparency! Yes, that very same notion ownership co-opted to frame their own anti-union statement is what bottlers and front-of-house staff have mobilized to demand.

Tattersall's workers are asking for basic protections. "We care about our jobs, we care about our customers. We don't like living in fear of cut hours, slow nights, layoffs, and no healthcare," the collective writes. "Service sector work is typically flexible, but highly precarious, historically feminized, and therefore un-unionized, unprotected labor." They're asking to be centered in the discussion of their own treatment.

It would seem a lack of transparency has pervaded the employment culture at the distillery since the pandemic began: "Were

we furloughed or laid off? We honestly don't know! Were our jobs ever safe, or was their plan to downsize the staff the entire time?" In addition to seeking clarity on these matters, the workers are demanding equity and diversity in the workplace, citing the need for growth on this front, as the inclusion of BIPOC individuals is "a necessity, not just a banner to wave."

Tattersall's workers have included actionable items for how fans of Tattersall's products—and the good work they've brought to the community—can support the distiller's staff during this time. This looks a lot like using the direct contact info they've provided for Kreidler and Oskey, as well as the brand's email address, to express your thoughts on Tattersall's present and future work environment.

"We truly value the opinions of our current staff along with those who were laid off three months ago," the owners' initial statement concludes.

A recording obtained by City Pages prominently featuring Kreidler, however, suggests otherwise.

In it, the co-owner threatens to call the police on the Tattersall employees' union rep, Sheigh Freeberg with Unite Here Local 17, after Kreidler was overheard questioning distillers about the union. In the audio recording, captured the morning of June 24 on Tattersall's patio, the owner can be heard yelling, "Please leave or I will call the cops."

Even to a casual bystander, those words don't sound like they belong to someone who values the opinions of his staff or, more broadly, the future of Minneapolis. And while we at City Pages may not be experts in labor law (those we reached out to were not available for immediate comment), one thing we are familiar with is crybabies... and we're confident in saying Tattersall's ownership signaled strongly on that front.

When Tattersall's initial, five-paragraph-long union-busting statement was absolutely torn to, erm, tatters on Facebook (where there is no option to disable comments), the liquor brand issued yet another brief follow-up statement later the same day:

*We hear you. We are actively engaging with the election process regarding unionization. This is all new to us — we're listening, learning and know we have made some missteps, but we are committed to finding a solution to move forward.*

As of press time, Tattersall's ownership had not recognized the workers' union.



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RENÉE JONES SCHNEIDER/STAR TRIBUNE

## PLAGUED BUDGETS

Major cuts and layoffs at Mia, Walker Art Center, and MNHS

BY JESSICA ARMBRUSTER

**I**n the age of coronavirus, Twin Cities restaurants have already taken a major hit, with recent closings including the Herkimer and Fuji-Ya. Now it's time for a spate of bad news from the arts community.

Last week, Walker Art Center sent out

a release confirming that the modern art museum would be reopening on July 16. But the time they spent closed has already taken its toll, as layoffs, reduced programming, and reduced hours will be necessary to keep things going.

"I am sad to have to share that as of

July 1, we will be laying off a total of 15 part-time staff between the Walker shop and visitor services, and 18 part-time gallery assistants," says executive director Mary Ceruti.

According to the release, they are expecting a "\$5.7 million drop in revenue or the

equivalent of 26% of last year's operating budget." In addition to reduced staff, the museum will be dipping into reserve funds, and the remaining senior staffers are also facing pay cuts.

The Minneapolis Institute of Art has not fared much better, announcing on Monday that 39 jobs had been cut from its staff of 250. "Few decisions are harder than one that involves reducing our dedicated staff," said Mia president Katie Luber via release. "We are deeply saddened by this very difficult situation."

Mia has already cut its projected operating budget from \$34 million to \$30 million. Leaders at the museum

### A petition asked for bigger pay cuts at the executive level.

had already taken a 15% pay cut. However, some staffers felt that this was not enough, as a petition, signed "concerned Mia employees," had asked for bigger pay cuts at the presidential/executive level and greater financial transparency earlier this month.

"Considering [leadership's] exorbitant salaries, and the wealth that the leadership team has amassed throughout the years, it's hard to call the proposed layoffs to staff as anything other than inherently regressive," the Change.org page states. "We also have serious concerns about the impact layoffs will have on Mia's already meager staff diversity, considering most BIPOC staff at Mia are in non-managerial and grant-funded roles."

The online petition cites the museum's highest paid positions as ranging from \$165,540 to \$730,063.

Meanwhile, the Minnesota Historical Society has had to make sweeping changes to employment. Last week, they announced that easy-to-distance sites Split Rock Lighthouse and Jeffers Petroglyphs will be opening in the coming weeks. They also announced that 176 furloughed employees had been laid off, and 136 staff members have had their furloughs extended. The cuts will mainly impact those working at historic sites, as well as facilities that are remaining closed. [Q](#)



LISA PERSSON

# DAY OF RECKONING?

Stories of abuse, misogyny spotlight patterns of predatory behavior in local music

BY KEITH HARRIS AND JAY BOLLER

Following widespread social media reports attributing misogyny and abusive behavior to prominent Twin Cities musicians, some other musicians and labels—including Rhymesayers and Doomtree—are scrambling to cut ties with their former collaborators.

Questions remain, however, about whether prominent local musicians and institutions will take further steps to address the deep-seated patterns of emotional and physical violence against women and non-binary individuals in the music community.

DJ Fundo, who established himself as part of the Get Cryphy dance night, collaborated with Doomtree, and worked for seven years as the DJ/hypeman for sleaze-rap notable Prof, was disowned by his former collaborators in internet statements after a series of social media posts depicted him as manipulative and abusive.

On Thursday, Rhymesayers released a statement saying, “the reports of abuse this past week are not things that we’ve ever tacitly condoned or were previously aware of” and dropped two of its biggest artists: Prof (“we were complicit in promoting and marketing music that perpetuates misogyny”) and Dem Atlas (“given recent reports of his behavior”).

The initial stirrings of what soon would be a storm came when the local DJ Babyghost shared her experience dating Fundo when she was in her teens and he was in his thirties, detailing incidents of manipulation and emotional abuse. Multiple women responded to say their encounters with Fundo had been similar, or that they’d had other similar experiences with other musicians, while still more voices came forth expressing that they’d raised similar concerns for years to no avail. The flood of reports continues on social media. Type

your favorite local musician’s name into a search bar and they might not be your favorite local musician anymore.

A consistent pattern of behavior emerged across these stories. Young women entering the local music scene were manipulated by older men whose behavior ranged from highly inappropriate and disrespectful to outright emotionally, physically, and sexually abusive. When male performers were alone with women, according to many allegations, those musicians assumed they were entitled to sex. The effect was a “boys’ club” environment where predators could thrive, their activities protected by the silence of other men, and, despite open secrets about which “creeps” to “look out for,” suffered no repercussions.

And then Friday, Dessa addressed reports of abusive behavior made against rapper P.O.S, her partner in the Twin Cities label/collective/band Doomtree.

Fresh off a Zoom call with the other members of Doomtree, Dessa posted an emotional video to Instagram late Friday afternoon.

“The amount of pain that Stef [Alexander], P.O.S., has caused people is not commensurate with the unavoidable injuries that we inflict on one another when we’re working in good faith,” the rapper/singer says in the five-minute clip. “The stories

that you are reading about P.O.S, at least some of them, are true. Huge, vast, deep oceans of pain built on lies, deliberate lies, for years and years.”

Dessa continues...

“Stef, you are not canceled—you are broken. Your conduct is abhorrent, and I’d love to see a part of helping you, and the many women that you’ve hurt, heal.... You are not allowed, Stef, to ruin the good names of the other members of this crew... as soon as you can align yourself with the values this crew holds, I will welcome you.”

On Tuesday, as stories of abuse and misogyny began spotlighting patterns of predatory behavior throughout the local music scene, P.O.S issued a statement of his own via Twitter.

“I’ve definitely missed many opportunities to lift women, been a shamefully bad partner at times,” he writes. “And have been guilty. Of lying, cheating, and gaslighting lies to cover it up. That stuff can also cause real pain and lasting damage.”

Does Dessa’s statement mean P.O.S is no longer working with Doomtree? We asked.

“This is a messy answer but it’s the honest one,” she tells us. “When I was asked to join to Doomtree I was told we were Friendship first, Music second, and Business third. We are operating now as a family, we will sort the business later.”

City Pages would like to acknowledge that while the response of these labels and performers is newsworthy, it is far more significant that women and non-binary people have been stepping forward to share their stories of abuse. The issues raised are systemic, and plucking bad apples from the barrel will not make the scene safer in the long term.

As members of the media, we are committing ourselves to coverage that makes the music scene safe and enjoyable for anyone who wants to participate, and we welcome feedback when we fall short. “Supporting local music” doesn’t mean hiding dirty secrets; it means fostering an atmosphere where everyone is free to create and enjoy music.

We also recognize that survivors’ voices should always be at the center of discussions like this. But we will not publicize stories women have told on this broader platform if that will heighten their trauma or endanger their safety. We have reached out to several of the people who have shared stories of abuse online, and we continue to remain available to them if they want to discuss their stories with a City Pages staffer. ☐

**♈ ARIES** (March 21-April 19): Aries author Marge Piercy writes, "The people I love the best, jump into work head first without dallying in the shallows." The Aries people I love best will do just that in the coming days. Now is not the right time to wait around passively, lazily hoping that something better will come along. Nor is it prudent to procrastinate or postpone decisions while shopping around for more options or collecting more research. Dive, Aries, dive!

**♉ TAURUS** (April 20-May 20): *Calvin and Hobbes* is a comic strip by Bill Watterson. It features a boy named Calvin and his stuffed tiger Hobbes. In the first panel of one story, Calvin is seated at a school desk looking perplexed as he studies a question on a test, which reads "Explain [Isaac] Newton's First Law of Motion in your own words." In the second panel, Calvin has a broad smile, suddenly imbued with inspiration. In the third panel, he writes his response to the test question: "Yakka foob mog. Grug pubbawup zink wattoom gazork. Chumble spuzz." The fourth panel shows him triumphant and relaxed, proclaiming, "I love loopholes." I propose that you use this scenario as your victorious metaphor in the coming weeks, Taurus. Look for loopholes! And use them to overcome obstacles and solve riddles.

**♊ GEMINI** (May 21-June 20): "It is a fault to wish to be understood before we have made ourselves clear to ourselves," wrote philosopher and activist Simone Weil. I'm hoping that this horoscope of mine can help you avoid that mistake. In the coming weeks and months, you will have a stronger-than-usual need to be seen for who you really are—to have your essential nature be appreciated and understood by people you care about. And the best way to make sure that happens is to work hard right now on seeing, appreciating, and understanding yourself.

**♋ CANCER** (June 21-July 22): Some readers wish I would write more like Cormac McCarthy or Albert Camus or Raymond Chandler: with spare simplicity. They accuse me of being too lush and exuberant in my prose. They want me to use shorter sentences and fewer adjectives. To them I say: It ain't going to happen. I have feelings similar to those of best-selling Cancerian author Oliver Sacks, who the *New York Times* called, "one of the great clinical writers of the 20th century." Sacks once said, "I never use one adjective if six seem to me better and, in their cumulative effect, more incisive. I am haunted by the density of reality and try to capture this with 'thick description.'" I bring these thoughts to your attention, my fellow Cancerian, because I think it's important for you to be your lavish, sumptuous, complex self in the coming weeks. Don't oversimplify yourself or dumb yourself down, either intellectually or emotionally.

**♌ LEO** (July 23-Aug. 22): Travel writer Paul Theroux has journeyed long distances by train: once from Britain to Japan and back again, and then from Massachusetts to Argentina. He also rode trains during part of his expedition from Cairo to Cape Town. Here's one of his conclusions: "It is almost axiomatic that the worst trains take you through magical places." I'd like to offer a milder version of that counsel as your metaphor for the coming weeks: The funky, bumpy, rickety influences will bring you the best magic.

**♍ VIRGO** (Aug. 23-Sept. 22): Philosopher Miguel de Unamuno declared, "Everything that exalts and expands consciousness is good, while that which depresses and diminishes it is evil." This idea will be intensely true for and applicable to you in the coming weeks, Virgo. It will be your sacred duty—both to yourself and to those you care about—to enlarge your understandings of how the world works and to push your awareness to become more inclusive and empathetic. What's your vision of paradise-on-earth? Now is a good time to have fun imagining it.

**♎ LIBRA** (Sept. 23-Oct. 22): What do you want to be when you grow up, Libra? What's that you say? You firmly believe you are already all grown up? I hope not! In my vision of your destiny, you will always keep evolving and transforming; you will ceaselessly transcend your existing successes and push on to accomplish further breakthroughs and victories. Now would be an excellent time to rededicate yourself to this noble aspiration. I invite you to dream and scheme about three specific wonders and marvels you would like to experience during the next five years.

**♏ SCORPIO** (Oct. 23-Nov. 21): U.S. Senator Elizabeth Warren has advice that would serve you well in the coming weeks. She says, "Keep a little space in your heart for the improbable. You won't regret it." In accordance with your astrological potentials, I'm inclined to amend her statement as follows: "Keep a sizable space in your heart for the improbable. You'll be rewarded with catalytic revelations and intriguing opportunities." To attract blessings in abundance, Scorpio, be willing to set aside some of your usual skepticism and urge for control.

**♐ SAGITTARIUS** (Nov. 22-Dec. 21): Author Malidoma Somé lives in the U.S. now, but was born in the West African country of Burkina Faso. He writes, "In the culture of my people, the Dagara, we have no word for the supernatural. The closest we come to this concept is *Yielongura*, 'the thing that knowledge can't eat.' This word suggests that the life and power of certain things depend upon their resistance to the categorizing knowledge that human beings apply to everything." I bring Somé's thoughts to your attention, Sagittarius, because I suspect that in the coming weeks, you will encounter more than the usual number of experiences that knowledge can't eat. They might at times be a bit spooky or confounding, but will mostly be interesting and fun. I'm guessing that if you embrace them, they will liberate you from overly literal and materialistic ideas about how the world works. And that will be good for your soul.

**♑ CAPRICORN** (Dec. 22-Jan. 19): Pioneer Capricorn scientist Isaac Newton is often hailed as one of history's greatest geniuses. I agree that his intellectual capacities were sublime. But his emotional intelligence was sparse and feeble. During the time he taught at Cambridge University, his talks were so affectless and boring that many of his students skipped most of his classes. I'll encourage you to make Newton your anti-role model for the next eight weeks. This time will be favorable for you to increase your mastery of three kinds of intelligence beyond the intellectual kind: feeling, intuition, and collaboration.

**♒ AQUARIUS** (Jan. 20-Feb. 18): When future writer (and Aquarius) Charles Dickens was 12 years old, his parents and siblings got incarcerated in a debtors' prison. To stay alive and help his family, he took a job working 12 hours a day, six days a week, pasting labels on pots of boot polish in a rotting, rat-infested warehouse. Hard times! Yet the experiences he had there later provided him with rich material for the novels that ultimately made him wealthy and beloved. In predicting that you, too, will have future success at capitalizing on difficulty, I don't mean to imply you've endured or will endure anything as harsh as Dickens' ordeal. I'm just hoping to help you appreciate the motivating power of your challenging experiences.

**♓ PISCES** (Feb. 19-March 20): Maybe you feel that the ongoing pandemic has inhibited your ability to explore and deepen intimacy to the degree that would like to. But even if that's the case, the coming weeks will provide openings that could soften and remedy your predicament. So be extra receptive and alert to the clues that life reveals to you. And call on your imagination to look for previously unguessed and unexpected ways to reinvent togetherness and tenderness. Let's call the next three weeks your Season of Renewing Rapport.

CROSSWORD

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SQUIRM OF AN IDEA

BY BRENDAN EMMETT QUIGLEY

Across

- 1 To be, at the Louvre
- 5 Aluminum company
- 10 They have small touchscreens
- 14 Diaper deposit
- 15 Governor with a brother who's on CNN
- 16 Language similar to Hindi
- 17 Sing "Le Freak" like a mouse?
- 19 Run like the wind
- 20 Revealed to the world
- 21 Head cold doc
- 22 Place for an elevated performance
- 23 Once went by
- 24 National Blood Donor Mo.
- 26 "Fork over the cash"
- 27 Arthritic noise heard while working your glutes?
- 32 It accounts for around a third of global military spending: Abbr.
- 33 Cat with a curly coat
- 34 Brooklyn cagers
- 35 Bothered
- 38 Play with the band
- 39 In the lead
- 40 Author Hiaasen
- 41 Acknowledge the applause
- 42 Butterfingers
- 43 What's needed to break open acorns?
- 47 Ready to attempt

- 48 Camelot member, briefly
- 49 Earthy opening
- 52 Foul smelling
- 53 Copy
- 55 Shell alternative
- 57 Cleveland's lake
- 58 Patrol unit's heroin?
- 60 Fashion-forward Christian
- 61 Cup fraction
- 62 Sunscreen ingredient
- 63 Without
- 64 Wood turner
- 65 \_\_\_ queen

Down

- 1 Big name in printers
- 2 Chef's hat
- 3 Delivery trucks follow them
- 4 Sword with a bell
- 5 "Why's this happening?"
- 6 Giving off light
- 7 SportsCenter anchor Linda
- 8 Leave off
- 9 Bartender-turned-representative, for short
- 10 Spackle applicator
- 11 More studly
- 12 Pitching specialists
- 13 "Yeah, why not?"
- 18 Make a few minor changes
- 22 Pollen holder
- 25 Jumping org.
- 26 Bellum's opposite
- 28 Seeded players
- 29 Move at a slow pace

- 30 Stipe's group
- 31 Astron. clock setting
- 35 Boxes that (unfortunately) get dropped out of windows
- 36 Burrito seller
- 37 Eddie Van Halen instrumental off the debut Van Halen record
- 38 Angels manager Maddon
- 39 Guy \_\_\_ mask (protestor's covering)
- 41 "Where's my hoodie?"
- 42 "Gimme a break"
- 44 Drapery holder
- 45 Speak in church
- 46 Canadian drugstore chain
- 50 Powdered chocolate
- 51 Correctly sung
- 52 Govt. agents
- 53 Kind of blue
- 54 Fourth down play, often
- 56 Day when Cupid comes, for short
- 58 Fifth note on a scale
- 59 Grand finale?

Last Week's Answer

S	W	A	B	S	F	I	N	S	D	A	D	S
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## SAVAGE LOVE

# Kinked Gays

What if expressing my kinks ruins our relationship?



**Dan Savage**

**I**'m a gay man in a relationship, and we've both been really happy since we met a year ago. We're "open" in the sense that he wants the option to be intimate with someone else if a connection happens and in turn he said he'd be supportive of me being involved with another guy in my kinks. But I haven't done anything yet out of fear. I'm not afraid of my kinks. I'm worried that if I ask to go do something kinky it will ruin our relationship. I don't think he was bluffing when he said it was okay for me to explore my kinks with other guys, but it worries me. I tend to repress the kink part of my sexuality, and I'm worried that him knowing I want to act on it will cause issues. My boyfriend and I are so balanced, but in the kink aspects of my life I'm a submissive and need to engage in a power exchange with someone. I miss being able to express these things and it feels like there's a void in my life. That might sound silly, but it's true. I think repressing them is taking a toll on my mental health. Any advice?

GUY'S ABANDONED YEARNINGS  
SUBTLY UNDERMINING BOND

**If your boyfriend** is bluffing, GAYSUB, you wanna know that sooner rather than later.

Your still-relatively-new-ish boyfriend gave you permission to act on your kinks at the same time he asked your permission to fuck someone else. You gave him your okay and I assume you meant it, GAYSUB. Seeing as he took your "yes" for an answer where his "connections" are concerned, I think you should take his "yes" for an answer where your kinks are concerned. Go find some hot Dom you wanna submit to and let your boyfriend know you're gonna get your kink on. If it turns out your boyfriend was lying to you—if he's one of those people who wants to be free to play with others (which is why he got your okay) but doesn't want his partner playing with others (and the okay he gave you was insincere)—it's better to find that out 12 short months into this relationship than to find it out 10 years, a mortgage, one kid, and two dogs later.

And what you describe about the void you feel is understandable to anyone with kinks, GAYSUB. Even vanilla people can understand if they think about it—that vanilla

stuff you enjoy, vanilla people? Imagine never being able to do any of it. Your kinks are an intrinsic aspect of your sexuality, and repressing them—not having any way to explore or express them—does take an emotional toll. It can also breed resentment if your partner is the reason you can't explore or express them. Which means if your boyfriend wants you to be happy and wants you to be a good boyfriend, you need to have the freedom to be who you are. For some kinky people porn is enough of an outlet, GAYSUB, but most kinky people want actual experiences.

Often a vanilla partner is willing and able to meet a kinky partner's needs. But sometimes a vanilla partner can't do it or is incapable of faking it or does it poorly on purpose so they won't be asked to do it again. And for some kinksters the awareness you're being indulged makes it impossible to get into the right subby headspace. If either is the case, you'll have to outsource these desires to fill that void.

If your boyfriend gives you the okay and has a little breakdown after you get home—if it dredges up some unexpected feelings (and you should expect that it will)—and he needs some reassurance, that's fine. Answer any questions he has and let him know you're not going anywhere. The fact that you don't have to choose between him and your kinks makes you far less likely to end this relationship.

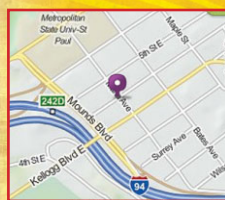
But if you're careful not to neglect your boyfriend sexually or emotionally and your kinky dates are just an occasional thing and your boyfriend keeps having great, big, dramatic meltdowns, GAYSUB, that's a bad sign. If he punishes you with drama every time he gives you his okay to play with someone else, then he's hoping you'll decide to stop seeking these experiences out because the emotional price is too great. You won't be able to remain in this relationship if that's what winds up happening, so you're going to wanna act on your kinks at least a half a dozen times before you get a dog or a mortgage.

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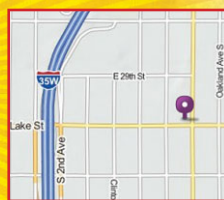
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